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Human rights and extreme poverty

Report of the Secretary-General**

Summary

The present report was prepared pursuant to General Assembly resolution 55/106 in which it was decided that the Assembly would consider the question of human rights and extreme poverty at its fifty-seventh session. The report includes an overview of developments in relation to clarifying the link between human rights and extreme poverty. The report provides a recommendation for consideration by the General Assembly regarding the adoption of a conceptual framework for a human rights approach to poverty reduction.

* A/57/150.

** This document is submitted late so as to include the most up-to-date information possible, in particular information regarding the first session of the Social Forum organized by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, which met on 25 and 26 July 2002, prior to the fifty-fourth session of the Subcomission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (see the Office's web page on the Social Forum at http:/www.unhchr.ch/html/menu2/2/sfmain.htm).

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Introduction

1. In its resolution 55/106 of 4 December 2000, the General Assembly decided to consider the question of human rights and extreme poverty at its fifty-seventh session.

2. The General Assembly has used different terms to identify different forms of poverty. According to resolution 53/198 of 15 December 1998 on the implementation of the first United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Poverty (1997-2006), the Assembly established two distinct goals: to eradicate extreme poverty and to reduce substantially overall poverty in the world. While a distinction between overall poverty and extreme poverty is made in terms of achievable objectives, this does not mean that there are two different types of poverty. Overall and extreme poverty are different in degree but are the same in terms of causes and consequences, and therefore require similar remedies. The present report therefore does not make any conceptual distinction between them.

3. The aim of the report is to assess progress made in clarifying the link between human rights and poverty/extreme poverty, and suggest a conceptual framework that responds to poverty/extreme poverty in human rights terms.

4. Over the last decade there has been a perceptible move towards a broader understanding of the development process. That process is no longer viewed merely in terms of advancement in the financial standard of living of people but also in terms of their social and political well-being. In 1984, a report of the Secretary-General on social aspects of development emphasized that for many social groups in developing countries, a decline in living standards had meant not simply less income and consumption, but also loss of social status and increasing disintegration of their established way of life. In its resolution 1988/47 of 27 May 1988, the Economic and Social Council requested the Commission for Social Development to examine the interrelationship between social development and the eradication of poverty. The Commission reported to the Council that poverty could be reduced if economic policy, and specific development projects, had a greater social content.[1] During the 1990s, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), using the notion of "human development" in its reports, also had a major impact on the redefinition of the concept of development within the United Nations system.

5. The process of development is now increasingly seen in terms of socially desired outcomes. These are reflected, for instance, in the outcome indicators on education and health presented by the United Nations Development Programme in successive editions of the *Human Development Report* since 1990, as compared with the conventional input indicators of income per capita and gross domestic product (GDP). The process is also being seen in terms of the choices and the opportunities that it has to offer to people at large. More importantly, it is being seen in terms of the "basket" of human rights that should be promoted, protected and even guaranteed to expedite progress towards the desired social ends. Much of this change in the conceptualization of the development process comes from the recognition that economic growth, though necessary, is not sufficient in itself to ensure that developmental goals are met for every individual, and met through a process that is participatory, non-discriminatory and transparent, and that encourages empowerment and accountability. Such recognition is particularly

important in the context of poverty reduction and calls for the need to define poverty in broader terms, including human rights.

6. This evolution in the understanding of poverty demonstrates the important gains that have been made. However, lessons have also been learned from the failures. In particular, there is a need to clarify the meaning of rights-based approaches to development in practical terms; bridge the large gap between normative and development approaches in addressing poverty; and reconcile the different approaches of the social, legal and economic disciplines to the common goals of reducing overall poverty and eradicating extreme poverty. The language of these respective approaches needs to be consistent and mutually understandable. In December 2001, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights delivered a lecture at the World Bank in Washington, D.C., entitled "Bridging the gap between human rights and development: from normative principles to operational relevance". She stated that lawyers should not be the only voice in human rights and, equally, economists should not be the only voice in development, and that the present challenge was to demonstrate how the assets represented by human rights principles, a form of international public good, could be of value in pursuing the overarching development objective, the reduction of poverty.[2]

I. Eradicating extreme poverty: an overarching goal of the United Nations in the new millennium

7. During the last ten years, poverty reduction has been identified by the international community as the overriding objective of development cooperation.

Outcomes of the global conferences

8. During the 1990s successive world conferences addressed the question of poverty, including extreme poverty, as the major problem facing the international community at the end of the century. The declarations and programmes of action produced by these international conferences also recognized impoverishment as one of the main obstacles confronting individuals and peoples in the exercise of their human rights. In 1993, the World Conference on Human Rights affirmed that the existence of widespread extreme poverty inhibited the full and effective enjoyment of human rights and constituted a violation of human dignity.

9. The Programme of Action adopted during the World Summit for Social Development,[3] held in Copenhagen in 1995, committed Governments to giving greater focus to public efforts to eradicate extreme poverty and reduce overall poverty substantially by promoting effective enjoyment by all people of civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights, and access to existing social protection and public services, in particular through encouraging the ratification and ensuring the full implementation of relevant human rights instruments, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

10. During the twenty-fourth special session of the General Assembly at Geneva (26 June-1 July 2000), in resolution S-24/2, Governments reiterated their determination and duty to eradicate poverty through the maintenance of peace and

security within and among nations, democracy, the rule of law, and the promotion and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development.

11. In this context, the Senior Management Group established by the Secretary-General requested the United Nations Development Group to lead the preparation of a system-wide initiative, the United Nations strategy for halving extreme poverty and its options for action. The strategy outlines the role of the United Nations at the global, programmatic and national levels to work with partners to realize the goal of halving the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. It has been approved by the Senior Management Group and the United Nations System Chief Executives Board for coordination. A corresponding training module has been prepared to ensure that the United Nations system becomes a more effective supporter of national poverty reduction strategies.

Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

12. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund decided in 1999 to require countries to prepare Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) in order to qualify for concessional assistance and debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. The PRSP is an analytical and comprehensive framework, integrating macroeconomic, structural, sectoral and social considerations and outlining a set of poverty reduction measures and policies. It is nationally owned and is developed through a participatory process. Each PRSP has to be approved by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund Boards before the country can receive concessional assistance and investment. The PRSP should span an initial three-year time frame. There is an increased recognition that the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper constitutes the main poverty reduction "tool".

13. In order to support United Nations country teams participating in consultations on PRSPs, the United Nations Development Group prepared a guidance note on Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers which sets out a human rights approach to poverty reduction.

Millennium development goals

14. At the Millennium Summit in September 2000, by General Assembly resolution 55/2, 147 heads of State and Government, and 191 Member States in total, adopted the Millennium Declaration, which sets out the United Nations agenda for the twenty-first century for peace, security and development concerns, including in the areas of environment, human rights, and governance.

15. The eight millennium development goals, encapsulated in the Millennium Declaration, represent a new global agenda for development and set particular goals and targets, including in the area of the eradication of extreme poverty.

16. To achieve those goals, the United Nations system has developed a number of activities, including the establishment of a United Nations Development Group working group on the Millennium Development Goals charged with the task of operationalizing them.

17. All the above initiatives address explicitly or implicitly the human rights dimension of poverty reduction. It is important that they adequately reflect the linkages between poverty and human rights, and reveal a good understanding of the content of a human rights approach to poverty reduction.

II. The relationship between extreme poverty/poverty and human rights: overview of developments

18. In the last two decades, important theoretical contributions have been made to developing human rights approaches to poverty reduction. The work of the Human Rights Commission's first working group on the right to development in the 1980s highlighted the integral link between human rights and development, including poverty.[4]

19. The Commission on Human Rights has considered the relationship between human rights and extreme poverty since 1990, when in resolution 1990/15 it requested the Subcommission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (prior to 1999 known as the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities) to study the issue.[5] In response, the Subcommission appointed the Special Rapporteur on human rights and extreme poverty, Leandro Despouy, who published his final report in 1996 (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1996/13). That study constituted the first comprehensive analysis of poverty and human rights.

20. The Subcommission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights gave a mandate to a Special Rapporteur to analyse the relationship between the full enjoyment of human rights, in particular economic, social and cultural rights, and income distribution, at both national and international levels. The study by the Special Rapporteur, José Bengoa, entitled "Poverty, income distribution and globalization: a challenge for human rights (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1998/8), highlighted the fact that growth since 1987 — the end of the cold war — was accompanied by a marked negative distribution of income at both the international and the national levels, and pointed out that unequal distribution of income was always linked to poverty. He concluded that income distribution was very closely linked to the full enjoyment and realization of human rights.

21. Following the proclamation of the first United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Poverty (1997-2006), the Commission on Human Rights appointed Anne-Marie Lizin as independent expert on the question of human rights and extreme poverty. Her mandate has been extended twice, in 2000 and 2002. Since 1997, the independent expert has submitted four reports.[6] Her work has sought to clarify the relationship between human rights and poverty.

22. In order to further clarify the relationship between human rights and extreme poverty, the Commission has also been considering the question of developing a declaration on this topic. The Commission mandated the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to organize two seminars on the subject, one in 1999 and, in its resolution 2000/12, another in 2001.[7] Both meetings recognized the need for a new text that would build on existing human rights norms and standards in a manner that explicitly addressed the phenomenon of poverty/extreme poverty and clarified definitional issues within the framework of human rights. Taking note of the conclusions of the second seminar, the

Commission, in resolution 2001/31, requested the Subcommission to consider the need to develop such a text.[8] The Subcommission, in its resolution 2001/8, then requested four experts among its members to submit a joint working paper on the above subject at its fifty-fourth session.[9]

23. On 26 and 27 July 2002, according to Commission on Human Rights resolution 2001/24, the first session of a new social forum was organized at Geneva, focusing on the theme, "The relationship between poverty reduction and the realization of the right to food".[10] The establishment of the Social Forum within the United Nations framework had been discussed by the Commission and the Subcommission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights since 1997. The intention in establishing the Social Forum was to create an opportunity within the human rights system for a dialogue that went well beyond the actors normally represented in United Nations human rights discussions. The idea was to involve, to a greater extent, representatives of the most vulnerable groups, in particular people living in poverty, and of civil society and the private sector in addition to States, United Nations agencies and other intergovernmental organizations in a substantive discussion on specific topics through interactive and constructive dialogue.

24. The United Nations treaty bodies have also contributed to the task of clarifying the relationship between human rights and poverty by monitoring the implementation of human rights covenants and conventions, through the reporting process, the development of general comments, and a constructive dialogue between States parties and the Committees on matters relating to poverty and development. In particular, the general comments and concluding observations adopted by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights take increasingly into account the question of poverty eradication. Economic, social and cultural rights are seen by the Committee as a key vehicle by which economically and socially marginalized people, especially vulnerable groups, can lift themselves out of poverty and participate fully in their communities.

25. In May 2001, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted a statement on poverty, which recognized that poverty constituted a denial of human rights and defined poverty as a human condition characterized by the deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights (E/C.12/2001/10).

26. In the context of the United Nations reform,[11] human rights have been designated as an issue cutting across the four substantive fields of the Secretariat's activities, including development cooperation. This has introduced a new dimension into the work of the United Nations system, including the international financial institutions.[12]

27. The Bretton Woods institutions are increasingly considering the existing relationship between poverty and human rights. The *World Development Report 2000/01: Attacking Poverty*,[13] paid close attention to the lives of those individuals who are living in poverty and adopted a multidimensional definition of poverty. Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen, who argues that poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of incomes,[14] has been the pioneer in this new thinking. The data contained in the World Bank's *Voices of the Poor* series have also informed this new approach. The series provides compelling testimony of the many ways in which poor people's rights are violated

and highlights the need for a rights-based approach to empower poor people to seek their rights and hold Governments and institutions accountable.[15]

28. Recently the World Bank president asked his staff to prepare a strategy on human rights. That constituted a major step by the Bank in the recognition of the inextricable link between human rights and poverty.[16]

29. The above activities have largely contributed to the development of a conceptual framework that has been further defined by the Office of the High Commissioner through the development of draft guidelines on a human rights approach to poverty reduction strategies.[17]

III. The conceptual framework of a human rights approach to poverty reduction

30. A rights-based approach to poverty reduction is a conceptual framework for the process of sustainable human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights of people living in poverty. The human rights approach integrates the norms, standards and principles of the international human rights system into the plans, policies and processes of poverty reduction. The norms and standards are those contained in the numerous international treaties and conventions. The principles in question are the identification of the poor; empowerment; the international human rights framework; participation; equity and non-discrimination; the progressive realization of rights; and accountability.

Identification of the poor

31. From a human rights perspective, poverty may be seen as the non-fulfilment of a person's rights to a range of basic capabilities to do and be the things that the person may value. Capability failure is thus the defining attribute of poverty. Since different societies may have different orders of priority, the list of basic capabilities may differ from one society to another.

32. Once the basic capabilities have been identified, the next step is to identify the population groups that suffer from inadequate achievement of those basic capabilities. Whatever method is actually used to identify the poor, the human rights approach demands that it should be guided by a couple of special considerations. First, the objective of the exercise should not merely be to come up with a number, such as the proportion of the poor in the population, but to know who the poor people are. Thus it is necessary to identify specific groups — in terms of various characteristics, such as gender, geographical location, ethnicity, religion, age, and occupation — in which poverty is entrenched, so that the problem of poverty can be addressed at as disaggregated a level as possible. Second, special efforts must be made to identify those among the poor who are especially deprived (e.g., women) and vulnerable (e.g., the victims of HIV/AIDS). When constraints on resources call for setting priorities, it is the entitlement of these groups that should receive prior attention.

Empowering the poor

33. Fundamentally, a human rights approach to poverty is about the empowerment of the poor. One of the clearest and most persistent themes in the series *Voices of the Poor* is the powerlessness of the poor.[18] For example, the second volume, *Crying Out for Change*, is organized around an examination of the ten interlocking dimensions of powerlessness and ill-being that emerge from poor people's experiences. Strikingly, it concludes that the challenge for development professionals, and for policy and practice, is to find ways to weaken the web of powerlessness and to enhance the capabilities of poor women and men so that they can take more control of their lives.

34. While the common theme underlying poor people's experiences is one of powerlessness, human rights empower individuals and communities by granting them entitlements that give rise to legal obligations on others. Provided the poor are able to access and enjoy them, human rights can help to equalize the distribution and exercise of power both within and between societies. In short, human rights can mitigate the powerlessness of the poor.

Explicit recognition of the international human rights normative framework

35. The international human rights normative framework provides norms and standards that empower the poor. A human rights approach to poverty will include an explicit recognition of that framework. Special attention will be given to those treaties that a State has ratified for two reasons: treaty ratification represents "country ownership" of the relevant provisions; and second, a ratified treaty is legally binding on all branches of Government. Careful attention will also be given to the commitments entered into during the recent world conferences, so far as they bear upon international human rights.

36. An explicit reference to the international human rights treaties that a State has ratified serves to remind all parties that, when dealing with any Government, they are required, as a minimum, to avoid policies and practices that make it more difficult for that Government to conform to treaty obligations it owes to individuals and groups within its jurisdiction. Moreover, all parties should use their best endeavours to help a Government realize its international human rights treaty obligations.

Non-discrimination and equality

37. The right to equality and the principle of non-discrimination are among the most fundamental elements of international human rights law. The poor are usually victims of discrimination on various grounds, such as their birth, property, national and social origin, race, colour, gender and religion. If Governments are responsible for such discrimination, they are under an obligation immediately to prohibit and cease all discriminatory laws and practices. If discriminatory attitudes are caused by traditions among the population, usually deeply rooted, Governments shall adopt and enforce laws prohibiting any discrimination by private actors. In both cases, Governments must in addition take special measures in order to provide to their

most vulnerable, discriminated and socially excluded groups, including the poor, effective protection against discrimination by governmental authorities as well as by private actors.

38. As discrimination may cause poverty, poverty also causes discrimination. In addition to discrimination based on their race, colour, gender or social origin, the poor are subject to discriminatory attitudes by governmental authorities and private actors because they are poor. The twin principles of equality and non-discrimination require States to take special measures to prohibit discrimination against the poor and to provide them with equal and effective protection against discrimination. Since the poor are among the most vulnerable groups of every society, there is a need to start by addressing the special need of the poor not to be discriminated against, according to the particular circumstances of the society concerned.

Participation

39. A human rights approach to poverty also requires the active and informed participation of the poor in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of poverty reduction strategies. The right to participation is a crucial and complex human right that is inextricably linked to fundamental democratic principles.

40. The international human rights normative framework includes the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs.[19] Although free and fair elections are a crucial component of the right to participate, they are not enough to ensure that those living in poverty enjoy the right to participate in key decisions affecting their lives. Specific mechanisms and detailed arrangements for the enjoyment of the right to participate will vary greatly from one context to another: one size does not fit all. It must be recognized that some traditional elites are likely to resist the active and informed participation of the poor in decision-making.

41. The *Voices of the Poor* project highlights the importance to the poor of the right to participate. As *Crying Out for Change* observes, the poor want desperately to have their voices heard, to make decisions, and not always to receive the law handed down from above; they are tired of being asked to participate in government projects with low or no returns.[20] The right to participate, the study concludes, must be enshrined in law.[21]

42. The enjoyment of the right to participate is deeply dependent on the realization of other human rights. For example, if the poor are to participate meaningfully in poverty reduction strategies, they must be free to organize without restriction (right of association), to meet without impediment (right of assembly), and to say what they want without intimidation (freedom of expression); they must know the relevant facts (right to information) and they must enjoy an elementary level of economic security and well-being (right to a reasonable standard of living and associated rights). Thus, without parallel arrangements to realize these other rights, the poor cannot participate in an active and informed manner in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of poverty reduction strategies.[22]

Progressive realization of human rights

43. International human rights principles recognize that many human rights will be realized progressively and are subject to the availability of resources.[23] Accordingly, the precise obligations arising from some human rights vary over time in relation to the same State (progressive realization) and from one State to another (because of differing resource availability). Significantly, the concepts of progressive realization and resource availability are also important features of anti-poverty strategies. All poverty reduction strategies are based on an appreciation that poverty cannot be eliminated overnight (progressive realization); and all such strategies are dependent, to one degree or another, on resource availability. This, therefore, is another area of congruence between the international human rights framework and poverty reduction strategies.

44. In the context of international human rights, progressive realization requires the use of human rights indicators and benchmarks. Briefly, a bundle of disaggregated indicators will be identified for each human right that is subject to progressive realization. Realistic time-bound national benchmarks (or targets) will be set in relation to each indicator; consistent with their right to participate, the poor should participate in the identification of these benchmarks. If there are ten right-to-health indicators, then ten right-to-health benchmarks will be set in relation to a particular State. Over time, the right to health in that State will be monitored by reference to those national benchmarks. As the benchmarks are achieved, more ambitious ones will be set. In this way, the progressive realization of the right to health is measured and monitored.

45. Importantly, the progressive realization of human rights and poverty reduction strategies demands effective monitoring by way of indicators and national benchmarks. Furthermore, indicators and benchmarks are an essential precondition for another vital feature of a human rights approach to poverty reduction: effective accountability.

Accountability

46. The international normative framework empowers the poor by granting them rights and imposing legal obligations on others. Crucially, rights and obligations demand accountability: unless supported by a system of accountability, they can become no more than window-dressing. Accordingly, the human rights approach to poverty reduction emphasizes obligations and requires that all duty-holders, including States and intergovernmental organizations, are held accountable for their conduct in relation to international human rights.

47. While duty-holders must determine for themselves which mechanisms of accountability are most appropriate in their particular case, all mechanisms must be accessible, transparent and effective.

Conclusions and recommendations

48. **At the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, it was affirmed that extreme poverty and social exclusion constituted a violation of human dignity.**

49. At the Millennium Summit, the General Assembly in resolution 55/2 pledged to spare no effort to free their fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them were currently subjected. The Millennium Declaration also committed all countries to making the right to development a reality for everyone and to freeing the entire human race from want. For the first time, the heads of State recognized explicitly the link between the realization of the right to development and poverty reduction. That provided unanimous acceptance of the inextricable link between human rights and poverty. On the basis of this momentum, concrete human rights responses to the situation faced by poor people must now be set out. Part III of the present report has suggested a conceptual framework on which those responses can be based.

50. Operationalizing the millennium development goal of eradicating extreme poverty is not simply a concern of the developing world. It is also the concern of the human rights community. Human rights reinforce and complement the overarching development goal of the United Nations, the eradication of extreme poverty.

51. The peoples of the United Nations share the responsibility of achieving this major goal with due respect for human rights.

Notes

[1] See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Supplement No. 7* (E/1989/25).

[2] The lecture is available from http://www.unhchr.ch/development/newsroom.html.

[3] A/CONF.166/9, chap. I, resolution 1, annex II, chap. II.

[4] See the following reports of the Working Group of Governmental Experts on the Right to Development: E/CN.4/1489; E/CN.4/1983/11; E/CN.4/1984/13; and E/CN.4/1985/11.

[5] See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council*, 1990, *Supplement No. 2* (E/1990/22-E/CN.4/1990/94, and Corr.), chap. II, sect. A.

[6] E/CN.4/1999/48; E/CN.4/2000/52; E/CN.4/2001/54; and E/CN.4/2002/55.

[7] See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council*, 2000, *Supplement No. 3* (E/2000/23-E/CN.4/2000/167), chap. II, sect. A.

[8] See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council*, 2001, *Supplement No. 3* (E/2001/23-E/CN.4/2001/167), chap. II, sect. A.

[9] E/CN.4/2002/2-E/CN.4/Sub.2/2001/40, chap. II, sect. A.

[10] Ibid.

[11] See the Report of the Secretary-General on renewing the United Nations: a programme for reform (A/51/950).

[12] See *Development and Human Rights: The Role of the World Bank* (Washington, D.C., The World Bank, 1998), and UNDP, *Human Development Report 2000: Human Rights and Human Development* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000).

[13] World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/01: Attacking Poverty* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000).

[14] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, (New York, Knopf, 1999).

[15] Deepa Narayan, and others, *Voices of the Poor*, vol. I, *Can Anyone Hear Us?* (2000); vol. II, *Crying Out for Change* (2000); and vol. III, *From Many Lands* (2002) (New York, Oxford University Press for the World Bank).

[16] See Bretton Woods Project at http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/topic/social/s2901hr.html.

[17] Following a request by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Office of the High Commissioner is currently developing draft guidelines on a human rights approach to poverty reduction strategies. The objective is to prepare operational guidelines for the use of practitioners involved in the design, implementation and monitoring of poverty reduction strategies. A first draft was considered by an expert seminar convened by the Office from 19 to 20 June 2002 in Geneva. The guidelines will be revised in the light of the outcome of the seminar and will be made available by the end of August. During 2003, the draft guidelines will be tested through national consultation and piloting. The terms of reference of the project are available at http://www.unhchr.ch/development/povertytor.html.

[18] Much of chap. III of the present report is based on the *Voices of the Poor* series, which is a contemporary, comprehensive and graphic study of the multidimensional nature of poverty. There are other poverty studies that support its analysis, such as the UNDP *Human Development Report 1997: Human Development to Eradicate Poverty* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1997) and the UNDP poverty reports for 1998 and 2000, *Overcoming Human Poverty* (United Nations publications, Sales Nos. 99.III.B.2 and 00.III.B.2).

[19] See, for example, article 21 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and article 13(1) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

[20] Deepa Narayan, and others, *Voices of the Poor*, vol. II, *Crying Out for Change* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 281.

[21] Ibid., p. 282.

[22] This analysis recalls that made in *Crying Out for Change*, where the authors stated that the right to participate has to include rules about public disclosure of information; freedom of association, speech and the press; and freedom to form organizations.

[23] See, for example, article 2(1) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and articles 4 and 28(1) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.